

**TODAY and
TOMORROW**

The Simla Fiasco

THE Simla Conference has ended in a total failure, though as Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose has observed, the deadlock was brought about not by the Congress as had been expected but by the Muslim League. Wavell's cunning scheme to get the Indian leaders' moral sanction and co-operation for India's continued slavery and exploitation has failed.

In his final statement, Viceroy Wavell, with characteristic British diplomacy, pretends to take all the responsibility for the failure of the conference upon himself, but in reality he tries to produce the impression that the Indian people's disunity is an insurmountable obstacle to India's progress and freedom. Wavell says, "The main idea underlying the conference was mine", and therefore that he alone is responsible for the failure of the conference. In this way Wavell implies that he thought Indians might unite and work together, but that he was wrong in entertaining such a hope. Wavell thus underlines the old, old British myth that Indians will never unite and work together for the common good.

Britain had more than once been bitterly attacked by Molotov and by the Russian Press for its India policy. The Americans are not so much bothered about British policy in India, but they want Britain to take a greater share in the prosecution of the Pacific war and for this they want more thorough British exploitation of India. For this the Americans urged the British government to try to effect a compromise with the Indian people by some sort of political gestures and concessions.

By the Simla conference, the British now claim to have established that no political concessions can be made to the Indian people because of their disunity. Thus Wavell gives a hint to the Americans that if they want India to be exploited more thoroughly, they should shut their eyes and close their ears. They should not criticise British methods of exploitation in India.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has clearly exposed the British mischief in the following words. He says, "Having known the communal situation to be what it is, the British Government should have set a limit to the extent to which any one party could be allowed to veto the progress of all other parties. A settlement would be possible either now or in the future only if a reasonable and fair basis was built up and firmly maintained."

The British did not build up a reasonable and fair basis. They built up a most unreasonable and unfair basis, and it was that that wrecked the Simla Conference. Of course now the British will argue that they are perfectly justified in forcing any sort of solution upon the Indian leaders because they could not agree among themselves.

The Congress and other Indian nationalist leaders put themselves in a delicate position by attending the Simla Conference and offering their co-operation to the British. But luckily now they can retrieve their position. Wavell will come forward with high-handed arbitrary decisions and all India must meet them with the stoutest resistance.

UNITY

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SIMLA CONFERENCE COLLAPSES

British Approach To Solve Indian Crisis Attacked

Maulana Azad Deplores Uncompromising Stand Of Muslim League

At a press conference in Simla held in the afternoon on Saturday, according to a New Delhi message, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, reviewed the policy followed by the Congress during the Simla Conference. He said the Congress was prepared to accommodate the Muslim League consistently with the national character of the Congress. This, he said, would become clear when the panel submitted by the Congress delegation was officially released. He felt that the failure of the conference was due to the uncompromising attitude of the Muslim League which claimed for itself the exclusive right to nominate all Muslim representatives on the proposed interim government.

At the same time, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad thought the British Government must share the responsibility for the present communal situation in the country. Having known the communal situation to be what it is, the British Government should have set a limit to the extent to which any one party could be allowed to veto the progress of all other parties. A settlement would be possible either now or in the future only if a reasonable and fair basis was built up and firmly maintained. He said that he was in correspondence with Lord Wavell about the publication of correspondence between him and the Viceroy which would make the Congress position clearer. The Congress President revealed that during his interviews with Lord Wavell he had received satisfactory replies on all points on which he had sought elucidation on behalf of the Congress Party.

Jinnah's Statement

Mr. Jinnah, the Muslim League President, at a press conference on Saturday afternoon said, according to a New Delhi report, that on a final analysis of the Wavell plan the Muslim League found that it was a snare. If they had agreed to what Lord Wavell proposed, they would have signed their death warrant. The Wavell proposal set at naught both conditions sought by the League for the participation in the interim government, assurance about Pakistan and equality of representation in the Executive Council. If they had accepted the proposals, the Pakistan issue would have been shelved.

WAVELL ISSUES STATEMENT JINNAH HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR FAILURE OF BR. PLANS

Lisbon, July 14 (Domei).—The British Government today announced that the conference of leading Indian statesmen convened at Simla by Indian Viceroy Lord Wavell with the view to reconstituting the Viceroy's Executive Council has ended in a failure, according to a London dispatch.

New Delhi, July 14.—The Conference met at 11 o'clock this morning with a full attendance. The Viceroy made a statement and after the party leaders had commented, the conference ended.

The Viceroy issued the following official statement: "I must give the conference of what has happened since we adjourned on 29th June. As you know, my original contention was that the Conference should agree upon the strength and proposition of the Executive Council and that thereafter the parties should send me the list of names. To this list, I would, if necessary, have added names of my own selection and attempted to form a better Executive Council which might be acceptable to His Majesty's Government, myself and the Conference. I intended to discuss my selection with the leaders and finally to put them to the conference. Unfortunately the conference was unable to agree about the strength and composition of the Executive Council and on the 29th June I undertook, with the approval of the conference to endeavour to produce a solution not based on any formula agreed in advance. I asked parties to let me have the list of names and said I would do what I could to produce a solution acceptable to the leaders and the conference."

Viceroy's Endeavour

"I received the lists from all the parties represented here except from the European Group, who decided not to send a list and the Muslim League. I was, however, determined that the conference should not fail until I had made every possible effort to bring it to a successful ending. I, therefore, made my provisional selection of names including Muslim League names and I had every reason to believe that if this selection had been acceptable here, they would have been acceptable to His Majesty's Government. My selection, would, I think, have given a balanced and efficient Executive Council whose composition would have been reasonable and fair to all parties. I did not find it possible, however, to accept the claims of any party in full."

"First I explained my solution to Mr. Jinnah. He told me that it was not acceptable to the Muslim League and he was so decided that I thought it would be useless to continue discus-

sion. Under the circumstances, I did not show my selections as a whole to Mr. Jinnah and there was no object in showing them to the other leaders. The conference has, therefore, failed. Nobody can regret this more than I do myself. I wish to make it clear that the responsibility for the failure is mine. The main idea underlying the conference was mine. If it had succeeded, its success would have been attributed to me and I cannot place any blame for its failure to any of the parties. I ask party leaders to accept this view and to do all they can to assure that there are no recriminations."

Utmost Importance

"It is of the utmost importance that this effort to secure an agreement between the parties and communities should not result in a worsening of communal feelings. I ask you all to exercise the greatest possible restraint. I have now to consider the next step. I must remind you all that whatever happens the first two of the three tasks mentioned in my broadcast—the prosecution of the war against Nippon and the carrying on of the administration and preparations for post war development must be performed by the Government of India for the time being in office."

No Government can carry on in the daily prospect of change or dissolution. I have to secure the stability and day to day efficiency of my government and it would be impossible to enter upon continuous or even frequent political discussions of this kind. Whatever decision His Majesty's Government may take in the near future must therefore in all probability hold good for some little time. I thank you all for the help you have given me and for restraint, patience and understanding which you have shown. Do not any of you be discouraged for this setback. We shall overcome our difficulties in the end. The future greatness of India is not in doubt," the statement concluded.

Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, has telegraphed to Lord Wavell the British Government's appreciation of the patience and skill with which the Viceroy conducted the negotiations. The telegram adds "That makes the failure of the conference all the more disappointing."

Netaji's Spirited Radio Talk On Simla Failure

Congress Attitude Slashed Left-Wingers Urged To Carry On Fight

Accusing the Congress Working Committee of its excessive eagerness to come to a compromise with Lord Wavell, Netaji Bose in a spirited radio talk yesterday to India exhorts Left Wingers in the Congress to carry on the freedom fight on the lines of the Sinn Fein Party in Ireland.

The following is the text of Netaji's broadcast address:

Sisters and Brothers in India! Today I am going to speak to you, first of all, about the lessons of the Simla Conference. What I shall say on this topic will be based on the reports from India. Though I have the impression that the reports which came to us from India over the radio and through various news-agencies were generally reliable, nevertheless, there is a possibility that some of them were not wholly correct. Therefore, if any of my conclusions is based on a wrong premise, I should like to apologise in advance.

To an outside observer, it was apparent that some of the Congress leaders were showing excessive eagerness for a compromise with the British Government. This eagerness was, in some cases, not only unseemly and undignified, but even indecent. As against this, Mr. Jinnah's attitude, throughout, was dignified and reserved. It should be clear to every politician that in negotiating with such a shrewd enemy as the British, we have to conduct ourselves with proper dignity and reserve. If we do not do so, and if we exhibit any weakness, British politicians are bound to take advantage of it and get the better of us in any negotiations or political bargaining. As it is sometimes difficult for us to see ourselves objectively, it is necessary for others to point out our mistakes. That is why the lessons of the Simla Conference should be studied objectively so that in any future negotiations with the British Government, the Congress leaders may show greater dignity, political sagacity and diplomatic skill.

Excessive Eagerness

Excessive eagerness for a compromise, to which I have referred above, was exhibited by some Congress leaders in various ways. For instance, certain statements were made to the effect that the Congress MUST come to an agreement with Lord Wavell. Further, it was

(Continued on next page)

Indians Here Disown Welfare Association

A public meeting of Indians convened by the Indian Welfare Association of Syonan was held at the Jalan Besar Stadium on Saturday evening. The meeting was for the purpose of explaining the Syonan Evacuation Scheme.

There was a large crowd present. Sri. M. V. Pillai, the President of the Welfare Association, was in the chair when the meeting commenced. The other speakers announced to speak on the occasion were Sri. Balbir Singh and Dr. P. T. Nathan.

Almost from the commencement of the meeting, the audience took a hostile attitude against the Welfare Association. They insisted that the National Anthem should be sung before the proceedings began.

They did not allow the Chairman or other speakers to address the meeting accusing the Welfare Association of trying to split the Indian community. Many from the audience alleged that the Indian Welfare Association was not working with the Indian Independence League. Cries of "Down with the Indian Welfare Association"—"We want the Indian Independence League"—"We have no faith in the Indian Welfare Association" and other similar cries were heard from all over the gathering.

The audience insisted that the Welfare Association had no right to speak on behalf of the Indian community.

Various speakers from the audience went up to the loudspeaker and addressed the gathering in Tamil, Hindustani, and in English condemning the Indian Welfare Association and asserting that the public of Syonan had no confidence in the Indian Welfare Association and questioning its record of work. They stated that the Indian public of Syonan was in favour of the evacuation scheme and was ready to give the fullest support to the Syonan Tokubetsu-shi and to the Authorities but would like the Indian Independence League to act on its behalf and be its spokesman to the Authorities for arranging the evacuation successfully.

Sri. Pillai and other speakers of the Indian Welfare Association then left the meeting.

The meeting then passed the following resolution enthusiastically: That this public meeting of the Indians of Syonan records with great disapproval the separatist attitude of the Indian Welfare Association and declares that the Indian public has no confidence whatsoever in the Indian Welfare Association.

This meeting further pledges its unstinted support and loyalty to the Indian Independence League.

The resolution was passed unanimously and the speakers were received with great enthusiasm amidst continuous shouts of "Jogilab Zindabad; Azad Hind Zindabad; Netaji ki Jai; Chalo Delhi."

The meeting came to a conclusion with the singing of the National Anthem.

Gualas To Meet Again Tomorrow, Tuesday

As desired by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose a meeting of the Gualas and cattle owners will be held tomorrow at 5.00 p.m. (T.T.) at the Indian Independence League premises, Waterloo Street. All are requested to attend.

Pending decisions to be taken at the meeting the undermentioned cattle owners have kindly come forward to donate to the Azad Hind Fauj Hospital quantities of milk as shown below:

1. Roshan Singh, Dunearn Road.—10 Chuppas per day.
2. Hukam Chand, Potong Pasir.—7 Chuppas per day.
3. Raghunath Singh, St. Michaels Road.—7 Chuppas per day.

Netaji's Spirited Radio Address On Simla Failure; Congress Left Wingers Urged To Continue Agitation

(Continued from previous page)

reported that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said in one of his statements, that he was prepared to work under Lord Wavell's leadership. If this report was correct, then it must have come as a rude shock to the Indian people. I am reminded that on a previous occasion, when there was a dispute between Pandit Nehru and a British district magistrate, Pandit Nehru declared that he would not take orders from the British Government. Now the same Pandit Nehru could agree to accept Lord Wavell's leadership passes my comprehension.

Lord Wavell has let the Congress leaders down very badly. First of all, in preparing his list of members for the Executive Council, Lord Wavell did not include the name of any Congress Muslims. While the Congress Working Committee suggested only three Muslim Leaguers for the Executive Council, Lord Wavell proposed four Muslim Leaguers and he gave the fifth seat not to a Congress Muslim, but to a member of the Punjab Unionist Party. Even that did not placate Mr. Jinnah. The Congress leaders, moreover, went so far as to accept Lord Wavell's leadership and to agree to co-operating with him even if the Muslim League did not do so. But Lord Wavell insultingly declined to accept the hand of co-operation offered by the Congress Working Committee.

The Net Result

The net result, therefore, is that the Muslim League administered one slap on the face of the Congress, while Lord Wavell administered another slap. There can be no doubt that the Congress Working Committee has come out of the Simla Conference with its prestige considerably impaired. The prestige of the Congress might have been saved, if the Working Committee had declined to accept Lord Wavell's list, just as the Muslim League did. I fail to understand why the Congress Working Committee did not do so. The only explanation I can find is that there was excessive zeal on the part of the Congress to arrive at a compromise by any means.

While making the above remarks, I should thankfully admit that what saved the prestige of the Congress, to a certain extent, was the attitude of reserve adopted by Mahatma Gandhi after his interview with the Viceroy at Simla. In fact, I have the impression that Mahatmaji was personally not enthusiastic about Lord Wavell's offer, but that he was carried away by the enthusiasm of some prominent members of the Congress Working Committee.

To an outside observer, it appeared that one of the reasons why some of the members of the Congress Working Committee were so enthusiastic about Lord Wavell's offer was that, after interviewing Lord Wavell, they thought that he would back the Congress, even if the Muslim League did not come forward to co-operate. At that time, I told many of my friends here that these Congress leaders were mis-

judging Lord Wavell altogether. I also told them that however friendly Lord Wavell might outwardly appear to be, he would ultimately have to execute the policy of the British Government. That policy clearly is to back the Muslim League, under all circumstances.

What I anticipated has now come out to be true. I am told that the Congress Working Committee in its last sitting, assessed the gains and losses arising out of the Congress Party's participation in the Simla Conference. Though the report does not say what conclusions were reached on this point, the All India Radio Special Correspondent says that, in the opinion of some leading Congressmen, the positive gain that has resulted is the creation of mutual esteem and friendship between the Viceroy and top ranking Congress leaders. If correct, this is strange news. So long as India remains morally in a state of war with the British Government, it is not the duty of the Congress leaders to cultivate friendship with the arch-champion of British Imperialism in India.

Congress To Be Blamed

To sum up, I should like to say, that if we desire to learn from our mistakes, we should recognise the fact that out of the Simla Conference Mr. Jinnah has emerged with added prestige, while the prestige of the Congress has been greatly impaired. It is no use blaming either the Muslim League or the British Government for the failure of the Simla Conference, as the Congress President has done. Both the Muslim League and the British Government, represented by Lord Wavell, have done what was anticipated of them. In fact, if either of them had acted otherwise, it would have come as a surprise to us. The Congress President and other members of the Congress Working Committee should blame themselves for not being clever or shrewd enough to foresee what the Muslim League and Lord Wavell would do. Did the Congress Working Committee anticipate that Mr. Jinnah would go into the Executive Council unless he was absolutely sure that by doing so he would realise his dream of Pakistan? Did the Congress Working Committee also anticipate that Lord Wavell would give up the Muslim League and support the Congress?

If anybody in the Congress anticipated either of these two things, then he certainly lacks political wisdom and does not deserve to be called a leader. Two things should have been crystal clear to every Congressman at the very outset—firstly, that Mr. Jinnah would not accept any ad interim arrangement, which did not ensure the realisation of Pakistan, and secondly, that the British Government would never let down the Muslim League.

To me, the most tragic thing is that the Congress Working Committee bungled the whole affair, when it was strategically in the strongest position. The Congress is the only party in the country that is fighting the British Government and is, therefore, the only party that is entitled to sit at a round table conference with that Government and to dictate terms of peace. Therefore, in my view, the most important lesson to be learnt from the Simla Confer-

ence is that the Congress should never, in future, sit at a round table conference with the British Government along with any other party.

A peace conference is always a conference of the belligerent parties. Who, may I ask, are the belligerents on the Indian side? Certainly, not the Muslim League. The importance of the Muslim League is largely of an artificial nature—created, on the one hand, by the British Government, and by the Congress on the other by giving so much attention and importance to the Muslim League. If the Muslim League goes through one campaign of Civil Disobedience against the British Government, inviting the ruthless oppression of the latter, I should like to see what would then remain of the Muslim League. A movement led by millionaires, landlords and capitalists is not a mass movement.

In this connection, I should like to repeat what I so often said in the past. Let us resolve to do in future what the Sinn Fein Party in Ireland did in the past when it was faced with a similar situation. When Prime Minister Lloyd George wanted to confound the Irish politicians by sponsoring an Irish Convention—similar to our All Parties' Conference—the Sinn Fein leaders refused to walk into his trap. They claimed, and rightly too, that they alone were entitled to represent Ireland who fought for Irish Freedom.

Irish Example

The Sinn Fein Party, accordingly, boycotted the Irish Convention and thereby turned it into a fiasco. Thereafter, the Sinn Fein Party continued the struggle until the day arrived when the British Government had to recognise that party as the sole representative of the Irish nation. Let us, similarly, carry on our struggle till the day arrives when we and we alone shall be entitled to speak in the name of the Indian nation.

It is useless to think of peace until we reach that stage. If we try to make peace with the British Government before the Congress reaches that stage, we shall land ourselves, not in peace but in civil war. I earnestly request all Left Wingers and Left Wing organisations in the country to popularise this idea among the masses that only those who fight for India's freedom are entitled to speak in the name of the Indian people and to sit at a round table conference with the British Government. And, by doing so, let us once for all, knock the bottom out of the religious divisions artfully created and carefully fostered by our enemies.

Thrilling Football Match At Jalan Besar Stadium

The football match between the Syonan Indian XI and the Azad Hind Fauj XI played at the Jalan Besar Stadium yesterday evening in aid of the Indian Distress Relief Fund resulted in a win for the Civilians by a broad margin of 5 goals to 2.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and Ministers of the Azad Hind Government and high ranking military officials were among the large gathering which packed the pavilion and all sides of the ground. The match began with Netaji giving the kick off.

The game was keenly contested throughout. In the first half the Civilians scored three of their goals while the Army players who had many openings to score in this half threw away their chances.

In the second half the game opened at a fast pace the Army side displaying more caution. The exchanges proved fairly even and the Army, opened scoring, netting two goals in quick succession.

The exchanges became much brisker both sides struggling hard but the Civilians put their side further up by scoring two more goals.

At the end of the game Netaji presented trophies to the respective captains of the teams.

Lecture-Movie-Meeting Proves Great Success

Syonan, July 15 (Domei)—The Yamato theatre was packed to capacity yesterday evening when the local journalists' association, the Nanko Kisha Kai, held a successful lecture-movie-meeting on the evacuation scheme.

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